

VALMIKI'S PROVERBS

Professor Sternbach has made the study of proverbial literature peculiarly his own. This attempt at an assessment of the proverbial elements in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is offered in homage to his efforts<sup>1</sup>.

Naturally enough, in view of its nature, the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains less in the way of gnomic utterances than the *Mahābhārata* does especially in its didactic portions. I have noted 135 occasions when such material is found, representing more than a hundred separate sayings, but over forty consist of citations in anthologies only, which means that there are approximately seventy paralleled in the older literature. The great majority of these occur in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>2</sup>, almost half in the *Sānti-parvan* but with significant numbers also in the *Udyoga*, *Anuśāsana* and *Vana parvans* (several of course appear in more than one book); over a third of these do not occur in other Sanskrit texts, so far as I have been able to establish. Only sixteen are found in the *dharmaśāstra* literature, of which just three are not paralleled in the *Mahābhārata*. One exception is found in a late part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (2 App. I.29.1-5, read by some only of the Northern mss.) and has undoubtedly been borrowed from the *dharmaśāstra* tradition. However, none of the parallels with Manu is ascribed to that sage in the text in the way that

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1. I am naturally greatly indebted to Professor Sternbach's many publications on the subject, too numerous to list. I have also drawn on OTTO BÖHLINGK, *Indische Sprüche*, 2te Auflage, 3 vols., St. Petersburg, 1870-73, with the Supplement by L. STERNBACH, Wiesbaden, 1965, and E. W. HOPKINS, *Proverbs and Tales Common to the Two Sanskrit Epics*, *AJPh* 20, 1899, pp. 22-39. This article supersedes the brief treatment in my earlier article, *Stereotyped Expressions in the Rāmāyaṇa*, *JAOS* 90, 1970, pp. 210-27.

2. To be exact, 52 out of a total of 72 are found in the *Mahābhārata* also; this roughly doubles the «altogether twenty-odd separate proverbs which are nearly identical in the two epics», together with some longer passages, noted by Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Hopkins describes for the later *Mahābhārata*<sup>3</sup>. The one exception cited by Hopkins, who considered it late, occurs in the Critical Edition at 4.397\* 2, *śrūyate manunā gītau ślokaū cāritryavatsalau*, read by the Southern recension before the proverbs at 4.18.30 and 398\* which form the other two exceptions.

Twenty-seven sayings are paralleled in the *kathā* literature, of which ~~exactly a third are not found also in the *Mahābhārata*~~; five of these (2.34.25, 56.10, 109.23, 5.2.37 and 6.12.15) occur in the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and no doubt were borrowed thence either directly or indirectly, but four (2.610\*, App.I.23.97-8, 3.1017\* and 6.1584\* 3-4) come from its latest stages and thus there is the possibility that these were taken by the redactors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the *Pañcatantra* in an early form. Relatively fewer — nineteen — of the proverbs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* occur in the extensive collections of Cāṇakya's aphorisms, and only five of them (2.1013 and 28, App.I.14.31-2, 5.35.3 and 6.102.26) lack parallels elsewhere but each of these occurs in one Cāṇakya text only, indicating ~~minimal contact between the two traditions until a very late stage~~. Thus it is quite clear that the proverbial matter incorporated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is drawn from the general epic tradition rather than from any other part of the literary tradition.

Two thirds of the total number of proverbs are also found in other texts not included in the categories already discussed. Among them we may note that two fourteenth century anthologies, the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and especially the *Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya Kaliṅgarāja, include a considerable number of *Rāmāyaṇa* verses — ten and fifty-five respectively —, although the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* erroneously ascribes them to Vyāsa even when they were apparently taken direct<sup>4</sup>. It is evident that Sūrya was thoroughly familiar with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and his *Sūktiratnahāra* several times quotes consecutively adjacent verses from the

3. E. W. HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, p. 19.

4. In view of the large number of citations in the *Sūktiratnahāra* (SRH), I list here those which do not occur outside the anthologies: 2.20.11 = SRH 121.13, 2.23.33 = SRH 146.23, 2.707\* 7-8 = SRH 92.11, 2.901\* 5-6 = SRH 79.8, 2.56.12 = SRH 265.5, 2.57.5 = SRH 29.4, 2.57.6 = SRH 29.13, 2.61.8 = SRH 69.3, 2.61.20 = SRH 69.5, 2.1572\* 1-2 = SRH 61.13, 2.98.17 = SRH 262.10 and 50.11 (also Vararuci's *Sārasamuccaya* 382), 2.98.21 = SRH 59.19, 2.98.53 = SRH 92.15, 2.101.30 [l.v.] = SRH 200.153, 2.109.24 = SRH 26.3, 3.12.6 = SRH 78.3, 3.28.3 = SRH 64.1, 3.28.7-8 = SRH 13.2-3, 3.31.4 = SRH 66.18, 3.31.14 = SRH 66.17, 3.48.18 = SRH 197.115, 3.65.30 and 6.10.19 = SRH 53.30, 4.18.13 = SRH 94.3 (also Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* 2725), 4.18.54 = SRH 185.3, 4.24.4 = SRH 53.27, 4.28.10 = SRH 220.3, 5.39.5 = SRH 157.7, 5.53.3 = SRH 234.11 (also Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* 2680), 6.156\* 1-2 = SRH 43.44, 6.12.17 = SRH 168.4, 6.14.5-6 = SRH 43.45 and 28.6, and 6.74.15 = SRH 197.119. The *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* alone quotes 2.20.12 as 459 (= IS 2976) and 4.29.28 as 3903. Three other stanzas occur only in anthologies: 2.899\* (= IS 6707) at Bhāvaśāstra's *Bhāvaśāstaka* (MS) 20, 6.9.8 (= IS 7449) at Nīti-śāstrakawin 2.3 (cf. L. STERNBACH, *On the influence of Sanskrit gnomic literature on the gnomic literature of old Java and Bali*, IT 5, 1977, pp. 199-288), and 6.1584\* 1-2 (= IS 3047) at *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī* 4.2, Venidatta's *Padyavēṇī* 751 and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasikajivana* 1441. These will not be given in the list which concludes this article.

*Rāmāyaṇa*; for example, 2.34-25-26 occur together in the *Sūktiratnaḥāra* at 26.1-2, whereas the *Vikramacarita*, in which they also appear, has separated the verses (VC, sr 30.12 and 9; however, the second stanza occurs very widely).

The distribution of the proverbial material within the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also of interest. It is clear that Vālmīki himself, if we may use that name to denote simply the earliest stage of the work, made comparatively little use of proverbial expressions — just a quarter of the total occurs in the earliest parts — and indeed it appears that certain expressions are of his making. For some stanzas, while showing every sign of having originated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are clearly of a type that would naturally become proverbial. This was recognised not only within the Indian tradition (e.g. 2.20.11 and 12, 98.17, 4.18.13. 5.53.3 etc., and in the Javanese tradition, e.g. 6.9.8), but also by the inclusion of a very large number in Böhrtlingk's collection<sup>5</sup>. Not far short of half the instances from the Vālmīkian stage consist in fact of such citations in the anthologies alone.

Over 40% of the proverbial expressions come from passages within books 2-6 which show evidence of expansion or alteration, with only a third consisting of anthology citations. Thus, it may be noted that there are several in 2.98, which elaborates Rāma's refusal to return to Ayodhyā already given in the previous *sarga*, in 2.101, Rāma's retort to Jābālī's casuistry, in 4.17-18, containing the moralising over Rāma's killing of Vālin, and in 6.70, where Lakṣmaṇa inveighs against the efficacy of *dharma*. We see in these and similar passages a little of the tendency so obvious in the *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* to introduce a moralising and didactic element, which is readily expressed in gnomic form. By contrast, the still later *Bāla* and *Uttara kāṇḍas* contain only half a dozen instances between them, reflecting the style of their narration which approximates to that of the *Purāṇas*.

In the next stage of growth, however, that of the \* passages and App. I passages, there is again apparent a considerable body of proverbs, amounting to well over a quarter of all the instances noted. Proverbs seem to have been a feature of the Northern recension more than of the Southern, for twice as many are found in it as in the Southern. This undoubtedly reflects the rather more polished text of the Northern recension, shown also in the greater frequency of *alamkāras*<sup>6</sup>. The only qualification is that the few anthology citations are drawn mainly but not exclusively from the Southern recension: 2.707\* 7-8, 901\* 5-6, 1572\* 1-2 and 6.156\* 1-2 from the Southern, against 2.899\* and 6.1584\* 1-2 from the Northern.

The first two examples in order of occurrence within the text are also perhaps the most marginal, being instances of proverbial phrases

5. The number of *Rāmāyaṇa* stanzas in the *Indische Sprüche* runs into hundreds. These and other citations in modern collections will not in general be included.

6. Cf. my article *Figures of Speech in the Rāmāyaṇa*, JAOS 97, 1977, pp. 441-59.

rather than complete proverbs. One is *yāvat sthāsyanti girayaḥ* at 1.2.35a, found also at Mbh. 5.139.55a and 12.320.36a, cf. *yāvad bhūmir dharīṣyati* at 6.88.53d and Mbh. 3.275.48d, 7.148.58d and 8.52.7d. The other is the commonest phrase of all, *eṣa dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ* at 1.24.16b, 3.3.24b, 5.1.100b and Mbh. 1.113.13d *et passim*, and its variant *sa hi dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ* at 2.16.52d, 21.10d, 27.30d and Mbh. 1.113.7d, 3.86.21d, 5.83.7b and 15.26.19b.

*daivam eva paraṃ manye pauraṣaṃ tu nirarthakam*

1.57.21ab

= Mbh. 2.43.32ab, cf. also Mbh. 7.110.1ab; IS 2974; quoted at Sūktirat-nahāra (SRH hereafter) 54.52.

*yayātim iva puṇyānte devalokāt paricyutam*

2.11.1cd

= 4.17.9cd, cf. *yayāteḥ kṣīṇapunyaṣya svargād iva mahītaḥ* Mbh. 3.22.23cd, *yayātim taṃ paricyutam* Mbh. 5.119.5d and *yayātir asmi rājara-ṣiḥ kṣīṇapunyaś cyuto divaḥ* 17ab.

*sunīṣphalaṃ bījaṃ ivoptam ūṣare* at 2.17.31d [l.v.] is an expanded form to fit the *vaṃśastha* metre of *bījaṃ uptam ivōṣare* at 3.38.3d, other versions of which are *śubhaṃ bījaṃ ivōṣare* at Manu 2.112d and *yathōṣare bījaṃ uptam na rohet* at Mbh. 13.90.37a [l.v.].

*guror apy avaliptasya kāryākāryam ajānataḥ*

*utpathaṃ pratipannasya kāryaṃ bhavati śāsanam*

2.454\* 3-4

= Mbh. 1 App.I.81.109-10 (d: *nyāyayaṃ* for *kāryaṃ*), 5.178.24 (c = *utpatha-pratipannasya*), 12.57.7 (d = *parityāgo vidhīyate*) and 138.48 (d: *daṇḍo* for *kāryaṃ*); IS 2180, also Tantrākhyāyika 1.121, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 1.120, SRH 90.5.

*spṛṣann iva gajo hanti jighrann iva bhujamgamāḥ*

*smayann iva nrpo hanti mānayann iva durjanaḥ*

2.610\*

IS 7249, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 3.43, Tantrākhyāyika 3.55, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.15, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1447, etc.

*na pituḥ karmanā putraḥ pitā vā putrakarmanā*

*sukham āpnoti duḥkhaṃ vā svaṃ tu karmābhijāyate*

2.614\*

IS 3338, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.113.27, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 6.20, Vṛddha Cāṇakya, Cāṇakya-praṇīta (Śāstri) 145.29.

*na pitā nātmajo nātmā na mātā na sakhījanaḥ*

*iha pretya ca nārīṇaṃ patir eko gatiḥ sadā*

2.24.4

IS 3337; cf. the preceding example and, for the general sense, 2.55.18 and Mbh. 13.134.51.

*pitā rakṣati kaumāre bhartā rakṣati yauvane  
putrā rakṣanti vārdhake na strī svātantryam arhati*  
2.673\*

IS 4067, Mbh. 13.21.19 and 46.14, Manu 9.3, Baudhāyana dh.s. 2.2.3.45, Nāradaśmṛti 13.31, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.115.63, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.128, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 8.64, etc. The stanza occurs only in the Kumbhakonam edition.

*nātantrī vādyate vīṇā nācakro vartate rathah  
nāpatiḥ sukhām edheta yā syād api śatātmaḥ*  
2.34.25

= Vikramacarita SR 30.12 (cd: *nāpatiḥ sukhām āpnoti nārī bandhuśatair api*); IS 3552, SRH 26.1.

*mitaṁ dadāti hi pitā mitaṁ mātā mitaṁ sutah  
amitasya hi dātāraṁ bhartāraṁ kā na pūjayet*  
2.34.26

= (with minor variants) Mbh. 12.144.6, Matsya Purāṇa 210.18, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 3.156, Vikramacarita SR 30.9, Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā 4.19, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra mss.; IS 4848, SRH 26.2. Both branches of the Northern recension also insert it into the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, at 4 App.I. 11.48-9 and App.I.12.67-8.

*etadarthaṁ hi rājyāni praśāsati nareśvarāḥ  
yad eṣāṁ sarvakṛtyeṣu mano na pratihanyate*  
2.46.18

Cf. Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.111.13 and Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Chandra Śāstri) 4.30.

*śoke na syāt saḥāyatā* at 2.51.26d is very similar to *nāsti śoke saḥāyatā* at Mbh. 11.1.6b; Lüders, in *Die Jātakas und die Epik*, ZDMG 58 (1904), pp. 687-714, compares *n' atthi soke dutiyyatā* at Ghatajātaka 355.

*naiṣā hi sā strī bhavati ślāghanīyena dhīmatā  
ubhayor lokayor vīra patyā yā samprasādyate*  
2.56.10

IS 3828 and Pañcatantra of Durgasiṁha 315.228.

2.61, on the evils of a kingless state, shows a large measure of agreement with Mbh. 12.67-8, which discuss the evils resulting if a king does not protect his people<sup>7</sup>. A fair amount borders on the proverbial and both include the so-called *matsyanyāya* at Mbh. 12.67.16 and Rām. 2.61.21 (= IS 3641, SRH 69.4); cf. also Śat. Br. 11.1.6.24, Mbh. 3.185.8, Nāradaśmṛti 18.15-16, Matsya Purāṇa 225.9 and Kāmandakīya 2.40.

7. Additionally, 2.61.22-23 are virtually identical to Mbh. 12.15.33 and 32. For the probable priority of the *Rāmāyaṇa* version, see H. JACOB, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn, 1893, p. 71, and E. W. HOPKINS, *The Original Rāmāyaṇa*, JAOS 46, 1926, pp. 202-19.

*yāni mithyabhiśastānām patanty asrāṇi rāghava  
tāni putrapaśūn ghnanti prītyartham anuśāsataḥ*

2.94.50

= (var.) Mbh. 12.92.19, Saura Purāṇa 18.16; IS 5460, Śārīṅgadharapad-dhati 1311.

*yadannaḥ puruṣo bhavati tadannās tasya devatāḥ*

2.95.31cd

= 2.2191\* 2, cf. *yadanno hi naro rājaṃs tadannās tasya devatāḥ* Mbh. 13.65.59cd<sup>8</sup>.

*sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ  
saṃyogā viprayogāntā maraṇāntaṃ ca jīvitam*

2.98.16 + 7.51.10

= (d: *hi* for *ca*) Mbh. 11.2.3, 12.27.29, 317.20 and 14.44.18; Gobhilaśmṛti 3.43, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.115.60, Kathāsaritsāgara 51.26c-27b, Tantrākhyāyika 2.165, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 8.59 etc.; IS 6948, SRH 262.7, Sārasamuccaya 471; Divyāvadāna (Cowell) p. 27. SRH quotes the next verse at 262.10 and 50.11.

*yathā kāṣṭhaṃ ca kāṣṭhaṃ ca sameyātāṃ mahārṇave  
sametya ca vyapeyātāṃ kālam āsādyā kaṃcana*

2.98.25

= (var.) Mbh. 12.28.36 and 168.15, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 4.72, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra 802, Vṛddha Cāṇakya, Cāṇakya-praṇīta (Śāstri) 151.47, Val-labhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī 3287, SRH 263.17, Sārasamuccaya 490; IS 5093.

*punnāmno narakād yasmāt pitaraṃ trāyate sutāḥ  
tasmāt putra iti proktaḥ pitṛn yat pāti vā sutāḥ*

2.99.12

= (var.) Mbh. 1.68.38, Hv. 66.20, Manu 9.138, Viṣṇusmṛti 15.44; IS 4127; cf. also Gopatha Br. 1.1.2 *yac ca putraḥ punnāma narakam anekaśata-tāraṃ tasmāt trātīti putras tat putrasya putratvam*.

The first and last *pādas* of the next verse, 2.99.13 (= IS 1474), *eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrāḥ ... api kaścid gayāṃ vrajet*, are a minor variant of *eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yady eko 'pi gayāṃ vrajet* at Mbh. 3.82.85ab (= I S 1475), 85.7cd, 13.88.14ab, Viṣṇusmṛti 85, Matsya Purāṇa 22.6, Vāyu Purāṇa 105.10, Kūrma Purāṇa 2.35.12, Padma Purāṇa 1.38.17 and 5.11.68, Nāradiya, Uttara 44.5-6, Cāṇakya-sārasaṃgraha 2.87.

*yad eko jāyate jantur eka eva vinaśyati*

2.100.3cd

= (var.) Mbh. 4 App.4.2199 and 13.112.11ab, Manu 4.240ab; IS 1355 and 1500.

8. E. W. Hopkins notes that C. R. Lanman, at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1899, argued that this *Rāmāyaṇa* proverb «was from the Pāli form because there *hoti* actually occurs in the same proverb» (HOPKINS, *The Great Epic*, p. 260). I regret that I have been unable to trace a published form of Professor Lanman's communication.

*nirmaryādas tu puruṣaḥ pāpācārasamanvitāḥ  
mānaṃ na labhate satsu bhinnacāritradarśanaḥ*

2.101.3

= Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Paris ms. 17072-1 A) 146; IS 3763.

*kāmavṛttas tv ayaṃ lokaḥ kṛtsnaḥ samupavartate  
yadvṛttāḥ santi rājānas tadvṛttāḥ santi hi prajāḥ*

2.101.9

IS 1652, SRH 177.68; cf. *yathā hi kurute rājā prajā tam anuvartate* at 7.42.19cd and Manu 8.175, *kāmakrodhanu tu saṃyamya yo 'rthān dharmaṃ paśyati / prajāḥ tam anuvartante samudram iva sindhavaḥ*. The final *pāda* of the next verse, 2.101.10 (= IS 6726), *satye lokaḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ*, recurs in the plural at App.I.18.24 post.; cf. *sarvaṃ satye pratiṣṭhitam* Mbh. 12.192.64d and 13.74.30d, *svargaḥ satye pratiṣṭhitāḥ* Mbh. 12.192.67b, and *satye sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam* Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 22.1.

*karmabhūmim imāṃ prāpya kartavyaṃ karma yac chubham  
agnir vāyuś ca somaś ca karmaṇāṃ phalabhāgināḥ*

2.101.28

Cāṇakyanītiśāstra used by Galanos 205; IS 1564.

*nagarastho vanastho vā pāpo vā yadi vāsubhaḥ  
yāsāṃ strīṇāṃ priyo bhartā tāsāṃ lokā mahodayāḥ*

2.109.23

= Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.28 (b: *vā śuciḥ* for *vāsubhaḥ*); IS 3218/6842.

With 2 App.I.12.77-82 (= IS 2726-8) on the comparative worths of teachers, fathers and mothers may be compared Mbh. 12.109.15-16 (= IS 2733-4) and Mbh. 13.108.14-15 (= IS 2731-2). With 97 pr., *bhartā hi daivataṃ strīṇāṃ*, may be compared Mbh. 12.142.12d, *bhartā hi śaraṇaṃ striyaḥ* (n.b. v.l. *daivatam*).

*āmraṃ chittvā kuṭhāreṇa nimbaṃ paricaret tu yaḥ  
yaś cainaṃ payasā siñcen naivāsya madhuro bhavet*

2 App.I.14.31-2

Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Rājanītau Cāṇikyamuniviracitam) 94; IS 980.

*aśvamedhasahasraṃ ca satyaṃ ca tulayā dhṛtam  
aśvamedhasahasrād dhi satyaṃ evātiricyate*

2 App.I.18.15-16

= Mbh. 1.69.22, 12.156.26, 13.23.14ab + 205\*, 74.29, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 8.42, Viṣṇusmṛti 8.36, Nāradaśmṛti 4.211, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 4.135, Cāṇakyanītimālā (Chaudhuri) 65; SRH 14.1; IS 730/1/2/3/4.

*satyenārkaḥ pratapati satyenāpyāyate śaśi  
satyenāmṛtam udbhūtaṃ satye lokāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ*

2 App.I.18.23-4

IS 6744 (and 11.27-8 = IS 6745); cf. Mbh. 12.192.66c-67b and 13.74.30, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 41.43, and for the last *pāda* 2.101.10d above.

*śocanto nanu sasnehā bāndhavāḥ suhṛdas tathā  
pāṭayanti gataṃ svargād āsrupātena rāghava*

2 App.I.23.97-8

= (var.) Hitopadeśa (Schlegel) 4.74; IS 6535.

2 App.I.29, identifying a king with various gods, is closely modelled on Manu 9.303-311, as Hopkins pointed out (op. cit. p. 26); additionally, 11.7-8 are quoted at SRH 178.82 and 11.9-10 occur at Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 27.24; cf. IS 2228, 743, 4273, 5136, 5983/4, 3962 and 4184.

*yāvaj jahāmi gātrāṇi jīrṇāṇi tvacam ivoragaḥ*

3.4.31cd

= Mbh. 13.61.66cd, cf. Mbh. 1.74.4c, 5.172.17d, 12.256.12d, etc., Manu 2.79d and 9.228cd.

*yo grhāyātam atithiṃ yathāśakti na pūjayet*

*dattvā sa duṣkṛtaṃ tāsya puṇyam ādāya gacchati*

3.209\*

IS 5587; cf. Mbh. 12.184.12 and 13.3.92, Viṣṇusmṛti 67.33, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 29.31, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.64, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 3.159, Pañcākhyānaka 3.137.

*sulabhāḥ puruṣā rājan satataṃ priyavādināḥ*

*apriyasya ca paṭhyasya ca vaktā śrotā ca durlabhāḥ*

3.35.2

= (c: *tu* for *ca*) 6.10.16, Mbh. 5.37.14 (and cd only Mbh. 2.57.17cd), Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 2.171, Hitopadeśa (Hamilton) 49.4-5, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1360, Subhāṣitāvalī 2838, Śukasaptati (text. simpl.) pp. 76, 199, SRH 100.18, Vikramacarita mr 40.44-5; IS 7131. The Northern recension follows it in the Yuddhakāṇḍa with *yo hi dharmam vyapāśritya hitvā bhartuḥ priyāpriye / apriyāny āha paṭhyāni tena rājā sahāyavān* 6.159\* = (var.) Mbh. 2.57.18, 5.37.15, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 4.21, Subhāṣitāvalī 2840 and IS 5663; presumably this was drawn from the Mahābhārata.

*pañca rūpāṇi rājāno dhārayanty amitaujasāḥ*

*agner indrasya somasya yamasya varuṇasya ca*

3.38.12a-d

= 4.404\* 1-2 (*dhanadasya* for *varuṇasya*), Nāradaśmṛti 18.26; cf. also 2 App.I.29 (above), Mbh. 12.68.41 and 137.99, Manu 7.4 and 7, Matsya Purāṇa 226.9-12.

*rājamūlo hi dharmas ca jayaś ca jayatām vara*

3.39.10ab

cf. *rājamūlo mahārāja dharmo lokasya lakṣyate* Mbh. 12.68.8ab; cf. also Mbh. 12.91.3 and Manu 7.17.

*sa pāpo bhavyarūpeṇa tṛṇaiḥ kūpa ivāvṛtaḥ*

3.44.10ab

cf. *adharmā dharmarūpeṇa tṛṇaiḥ kūpa ivāvṛtaḥ* Mbh. 3.198.54ef; also, a = 4.17.24c and b = 4.17.18d, cf. *gajo mahākūpam ivāvṛtaṃ tṛṇaiḥ* 5.45.20d [l.v.].



Seeing golden trees as a sign of approaching death is referred to in 3.45.33ab, 51.17cd, 64.11cd and 4.824\* 3-6, while *mṛtyukāle yathā martyo viparītāni sevate* at 3.51.15cd is similar to the second line of Mbh. 6.94.12, *mumūrṣur hi narah sarvān vrkṣān paśyati kāñcanān / tathā tvam api gāndhāre viparītāni paśyasi*, and also to so *'pacīnāni paśyati* at Mbh. 2.72.8d and 5.34.78d.

*dīpanirvāṇagandhaṃ ca suhr̥dvākyam arundhatīm  
na jighrati mumūrṣur yo na śṛṇoti na paśyati*

3.1017\* 3-4

= (var.) Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.78; for the general concept compare also BĀU 4.4.2 and Mbh. 12.305.9-10. IS 2815.

*kālo hi duratikramaḥ* occurs at 3.64.21d, 1291\* 8 post., App.I.15.5 post. (*vā* for *hi*), 5.14.3d, Mbh. 2 App.I.30.33 post., 3.148.8d and 9.63.8d; cf. *yat kālo duratikramaḥ* 7.19.20d.

*pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyā brahmakṣatreṇa rāghava  
śalyakaḥ śvāvidho godhā śaśaḥ kūrmaś ca pañcamah*

4.17.34

= (var.) Mbh. 12.139.66ab + 354\* 1; the first *pāda* is cited by Patañjali (1.1), on which the Tattvāloka commentary supplies the Rāmāyaṇa verse in the version of the Northern recension. Cf. also Āpastamba DhS 1.5.17.35, Viṣṇusmṛti 51.6, Manu 5.18, Śabara on MS 10.7.28.

*rājabhīr dhṛtadaṇḍās tu kṛtvā pāpāni mānavāḥ  
nirmalāḥ svargam āyānti santaḥ sukṛtino yathā*

4.18.30

= (var.) Manu 8.318, Vāsiṣṭha DhS 19.45, Nārada parīś. 48; IS 5736. The Southern recension follows it with 398\* = (var.) Manu 8.316, Baudhāyana DhS 2.1.17, Gautama DhS 12.44-5, Viṣṇusmṛti 52.2; IS 6442.

*na kālasya priyaḥ kaścin na dveṣyo 'pi kapīśvara*

4.430\* 3.

= Mbh. 11.2.14ab (*kurusattama* for *'pi kapīśvara*); IS 3194.

*kṛtārthā hy akṛtārthānām mitrānām na bhavanti ye  
tān mṛtān api kravyādah kṛtaghnān nopabhuñjate*

4.29.40

= (var.) Mbh. 5.36.40 and (cd only) 12.166.23cd, SRH 221.1, IS 6709; cf. Pañcatantra (Bühler) 3.158, IS 6708.

*hanti jātān ajātānś ca hiraṇyārthe 'nṛtaṃ vadan  
sarvaṃ bhūmyanṛte hanti mā sma bhūmyanṛtaṃ vadīḥ*

4.650\*

= Mbh. 5.35.27, Baudhāyana DhS 1.19.12, Manu 8.99, SRH 15.3, IS 7366; cf. 651\* 1.

*brahmaghne ca surāpe ca core bhagnavrate tathā  
niṣkṛtīr vihitā sadbhiḥ kṛtaghne nāsti niṣkṛtiḥ*

4.33.12

= Mbh. 12.166.24 (c: *rājan* for *sadbhiḥ*) and Pañcatantra (Bühler) 3.157; IS 2198; cf. also Mbh. 5.105.12, 12.263.11 and 449\* 32-3, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.114.69, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 7.89, Śārngadharapaddhati 704.

*yasya pauruṣam aśnanti mitrasvajanabāndhavāḥ  
amarā iva śakrasya saphalaṃ tasya jīvitam*

4.1372\* 4-5

Cf. Mbh. 5.131.41; IS 5383 and 5398 respectively (Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30).

*bhūtās cārthā vipadyante deśakālavirodhitāḥ  
viklavaṃ dūtam āsādy tamaḥ sūryodaye yathā*

5.2.37 + 28.37

IS 4608; cf. Pañcākhyānaka 3.179, IS 6796.

Hanumān's soliloquy in 5.14 has been imitated in Sudeva's soliloquy at Mbh. 3.65 but in addition to the parallels thus generated contains the proverb:

*bhartā nāma paraṃ nāryā bhūṣaṇaṃ bhūṣaṇād api  
eṣa hi rahiṭā tena śobhanārthā na śobhate*

5.14.26

= (var.) Mbh. 3.65.18, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.29 and Pāli collections; IS 4542.

*kalyāṇī bata gātheyaṃ laukikī pratibhāti me  
eti jīvantam ānando naraṃ varṣaśatād api*

5.32.6 + 6.114.2

The third *pāda* is quoted by Patañjali (Mahābhāṣya 1.3.12 and 3.1.67) and the third and fourth by Udbhaṭa in his commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśālikā 4.

*aiśvareyaṃ vā suvistīrṇe vyasane vā sudārune  
rajjiveva puruṣaṃ baddhvā kṛtāntaḥ parikarṣati*

5.35.3

Laghu-Cāṇakya (Sternbach) 4.8, SRH 58.12, IS 1489.

*ahir eva aheḥ pādān vijānāti na saṃśayaḥ*

5.40.9cd

Cf. *ahir eva hy aheḥ pādān paśyatīti nidarśanam* at Mbh. 12.196.13ab.

*na hi dharmaviruddheṣu bahvapāyeṣu karmasu  
mūlāghātiṣu sajjante buddhimanto bhavadvidhāḥ*

5.49.16

= (var.) Mbh. 3.2.16 and 240.3.

5.52.13a quotes the first *pāda* only, *nāgnis tṛpyati kāṣṭhānām*, of a common proverb found at Mbh. 1.1189\*, 5.40.6 and 13.38.25, Garuḍa

Purāṇa 1.109.40, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 2.114, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 2.48, etc. etc.; SRH 78.7, IS 3547. In the following sarga, the Southern recension inserts 5.1092\* 1-4 which is very similar to Mbh. 3.30.4-5 (IS 1966 and 6028), quoted at SRH 82.2 (first verse only) and Sārasamuccaya 111-2.

*trividhāḥ puruṣā loke uttamādhamamadhyamāḥ*

6.6.6ab

= Mbh. 5.33.56ab (*rājan* for *loke*), Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 2.69, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Tibetan) 5.11, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1366, SRH 143.3, IS 2646 (first lines only); 6.6.6-10 = IS 2647-51.

*saṃbhāvyam goṣu saṃpannam saṃbhāvyam brāhmaṇe tapaḥ  
cāpalyam strīṣu saṃbhāvyam saṃbhāvyam jñātito bhayam*

6.155\*

= (var.) Mbh. 5.36.56, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 4.81, (Bühler) 4.115, (Meghavijaya) 4.70, Pañcākhyānaka 4.64, SRH 96.6, IS 6880; cf. Cāṇakya-sārasaṃgraha 3.9, Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Weber) 54, IS 6078. This is the Northern variant for 6.10.9, which expresses exactly the same idea in slightly different wording.

*ārto vā yadi vā dṛptaḥ pareṣāṃ śaraṇam gataḥ  
ariḥ prāṇān parityajya rakṣitavyaḥ kṛtātmanā*

6.12.15

= Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā 19.9, SRH 168.3, IS 1022.

*na hantavyāḥ striyaś ceti yad bravīṣi plavaṅgama  
pīḍākaram amitṛāṇāṃ yat syāt kartavyam eva tat*

6.68.27

*sarvakālaṃ manuṣyeṇa vyavasāyavatā sadā*

6.1551\*

= Mbh. 7.975\* + 118.48cd + 976\*, a direct quotation of this passage, which is attributed to Vālmiki in Mbh. 7.118.48ab, *api cāyam purā gītaḥ śloko vālmikīnā bhuvi*.

6.70 incorporates a collection of proverbs on the virtue of wealth, found in a less developed form at Mbh. 12.8, of which individual items also occur elsewhere. 6.70.31 = (var.) Mbh. 12.8.16, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten) 1.6, Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgarakhaṇḍa 155.45, IS 618. 6.70.32 = (var.) Mbh. 12.8.18, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 2.32, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.133, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 4.12, etc., IS 617. 6.70.34 = Mbh. 12.8.19, Garuḍa Purāṇa 1.111.17, Pañcatantra (Edgerton) 2.31, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 1.134, Vṛddha-Cāṇakya (orn., Sternbach) 7.15, (simpl., id.) 6.8, Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (Sternbach) 4.12, etc., IS 5409. 6.70.37cd + 1582\* = Mbh. 12.8.20, Pañcākhyānaka 1.3, SRH 203.8, IS 222 and 5408. 6.70.38 = Mbh. 12.8.21, IS 3091. 6.1584\* 1-2 = Subhāṣitamuktāvalī 4.2, Venīdatta's Padyaveṇī 751, Rasikajīvana 1441, IS 3047; 3-4 = Tantrākhyāyika 2.56, Subhāṣitāvalī 3162, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 412, Sārasamuccaya 290, IS 2226; the whole of this Northern addition is broadly similar to Mbh. 12.8.22-3.

*parasvānāṃ ca haraṇaṃ paradārābhimarśanam  
suhṛdām atiśaṅkā ca trayo doṣāḥ kṣayāvahāḥ*

6.74.20

= (var.) Mbh. 5.181\* 1-2, IS 7367.

*na grhāṇi na vastrāṇi na prākārās tiraskriyāḥ  
nedrśā rājasatkārā vṛttam āvaraṇaṃ striyaḥ*

6.102.26

= Cāṇakyaśārasaṃgraha (Sternbach) 2.75 v.l., IS 3221.

*prāptavyāny eva prāpnoti gantavyāny eva gacchati  
labdhavyāny eva labhate duḥkhāṇi ca sukhāṇi ca*

7 App.I.8.31\*

= Cāṇakyanītiśāstra (Rājanītau cāṇikyamuniviracitam) 52, SRH 54.53, IS 4324.

*rājaiva kartā bhūtānāṃ rājaiva ca vināśakaḥ*

7 App.I.8.367

= Mbh. 12.92.8ab, IS 5765 (1st line).

*indriyāṇāṃ praduṣṭānāṃ hayānām iva dhāvatām*

7 App.I.8.405

= (var.) Mbh. 3.202.23ab, cf. also Manu 2.88ab; IS 1113 and 1118.

*na sā sabhā yatra na santi vṛddhā  
vṛddhā na te ye na vadanti dharmam  
nāsau dharmo yatra na satyam asti  
na tat satyaṃ yac chalenānuviddham*

7 App.I.10.67-70

= Mbh. 5.35.49, Garuḍapurāṇa 1.115.52, Hitopadeśa (Johnson) 3.64, Cāṇakyaśāstra (Sternbach) 8.53, Bhartṛhari (Kosambi) 568, Śārṅgadharapaddhati 1344, SRH 200.152, IS 3483.